

361 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically
311 inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the
[491] main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened
[494] since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheels
cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned
sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation
to the larger cities and towns of the island; to Nago across the
island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant
Naha, about 31 miles away.

127 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war.
There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing
like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa
campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the
island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence,
many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved.
[362] Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after
[342] the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinusa) village, slightly over a mile
[166] to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital
[143] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war
destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles
184 of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity,
the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort
and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages
of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the
diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro,
the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor,
its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa,
the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow sea
is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the where-
withal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance.
Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from
the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an
example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest
in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of
Oki to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro-
tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still
[136] another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but
[242] to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear
to superficial observation.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land.

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The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today.

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Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oki, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons).

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This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.²

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² It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there.

Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedents of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblance to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wignore, J. H. and Simons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

226 most important.

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(1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akitaru in Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 400 pounds) is caught from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter. The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long. The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is expensive, selling from ¥50 to ¥100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds) depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole. The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour, dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi. Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the fins (hane) are not dried.

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(2) The tunny (subinoo in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This fish is caught between April and November. Here there are two ways of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large boat, the hatsudoki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red, are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement, the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths, their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

handled round-bladed knife, the mackerel knife (sabakatana). The fish is caught in the daytime. The diver does not use a flashlight. He uses thick goggles and he may dive to a depth of fifty feet. Fishermen usually are able to continue in this work until they are about forty, after which they stop diving.

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(5) The red snapper (akatai in Japanese, nachi in Okinawan). This is a winter catch from September to April. Little is caught in the summer, as the fish spoils too easily without ice. It is also a daytime catch, the fishermen usually going about six miles out and fishing from 6 in the morning until 8 at night. Large fish average about 7 pounds, small 2 pounds, with a 100 pound catch for one boat considered a fair catch. The fish is caught with a hook and line. Lines in the skiffs go about 1000 feet down to the rocks.

(6) The flying fish (tobiuo in Japanese, tubū in Okinawan). The season extends from October to April. Flying fish are very numerous in March and April. A large specimen is about one pound, a small one about half a pound. This is also a night catch. The net (tobiuard) is about 4000 feet long. It consists of about 16 small nets, each about 250 feet long, joined together. The top of the net has small pieces of wood made from a tree locally called the angi, the same tree from which the wooden clogs (geta) are made. These small pieces of wood are about 7 sun (8.4 inches) long with about one shaku (about one foot) interval between. On the bottom of the net are small lead weights or shells. As the fish fly, their heads strike the net, and are caught in its loops and held there.

(7) The cuttlefish (ika in Japanese and Okinawan). This fish is sought at night during the late summer and early fall. It is attracted by an ika lamp (ikarampu), placed on the bow of the boat. These lamps may be bought in the small shops of the fishing village. The fish, attracted to the light, are caught with hooks, 8 of which, arranged like the petals of a flower, are attached to a bamboo stick about 3 feet long. (Fig. 1).

(8) The white cuttlefish (shiroika in Japanese, siuika in Okinawan). This fish is caught from fall to spring on moonlight nights. The season lasts from the 8th to the 3rd lunar months. It is caught with a home made lure (yasa). This particular kind of lure is known as the ikaue in Japanese, the ikaiyu in Okinawan. (Fig. 2). Sometimes the lure is painted blue and white; sometimes it is a dark brown. On the tail are two sets of 8 pointed hooks in petal formation, like the cuttlefish hook, though very much smaller. These lures are made by the fishermen during winter nights. It takes about 4 hours to carve one. Two woods are favorites for the lure: carphor (kusanoki) whose supply imported from Formosa is now being gradually exhausted, and the chagi (Okinawan), a tree from the northern district of Okinawa.

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(9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

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On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiai-rengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and the demand is low.

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(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with a top bar: Y. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (sakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (amaishi).

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The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

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variations one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Pandanus bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year. 137

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten. [64]

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi town-ship and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol. [484]

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature, 132

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages:
Kanegusuku and Kitazato

- 621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern corner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

- [13] Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which constitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

- 621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming; the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

- 621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields. [434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.